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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

RELIGIOUS LEADER'S LOYALTY PLEDGE--Czech Minister of Culture M. Klusak received a loyalty pledge from Synod Senior of Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren Miloslav Hajek during a ceremony which was also attended by Director of Religious Affairs Department, Ministry of Culture, F. Jelinek and Synod Curator M. Lesikar. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 13 Nov 82 p 3]

CSO: 2400/57

LUTHER'S ETHICS SEEN COMPATIBLE WITH 'SOCIALIST ETHICS'

'Christian Circles' Conference

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Oct 82 pp 1, 2

/NZ report from Halle: "Luther's Work Preserved and Continued on a Historically New Level--Conference of 'Christian Circles' Working Group at the National Council--Speech by Gerald Goetting--Valuable Discussion--Closing Speech by Werner Kirchhoff." For related information, see translations of articles by various GDR scholars, published under the quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Common Class Features' between Religion, Marxism Emphasized" (East Berlin philosophy journal), in JPRS 80540, 12 Apr 82, No 1998, pp 37-45; "Luther's Legacy Accepted for 'Socialist German National Culture'" (East Berlin EINHEIT), in 79591, 4 Dec 81, No 1948, pp 16-33; and "Martin Luther's Merits, Limitations Assessed" (GDR newspapers), in 79401, 9 Nov 81, No 1939, pp 14-21/

/Text/ To honor the reformer Martin Luther as an important figure of German and world history, on the occasion of his 500th birthday on 10 November of next year and to make the 1983 GDR Martin Luther celebration a high point in the social life of our republic these were the goals of a ✓ special event on "Tribute to Martin Luther--A Manifestation in the Spirit of Peace, Humanity and International Understanding." For this purpose, the working group Christian Circles at the National Council of the GDR National Front invited 100 church officials and theologians to meet at the House of the Union in Halle yesterday. The opening speech was made by CDU Chairman Gerald Goetting, member of the Presidium of the National Council and deputy chairman of the GDR Martin Luther Committee.

The event was opened and chaired by Guenther Grewe, member of the Presidium of the National Council of the National Front and of the Presidium of the CDU National Committee. The event concluded with an address by Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the National Front. Afterward a discussion clarified the broad range of preparations for the anniversary by social groups in our country.

Participating in the event were the members of the Presidium of CDU National Council Chairman Hermann Kalb, deputy state secretary for church questions, and Otto Hartmut Fuchs, chairman of the Presidium of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK)--both members of the Presidium of CDU National Council--Werner Ruempel, secretary general of the GDR Peace Council; Rudi Bellmann, chairman of the Committee on Church Questions at the SED Central Committee; Helmut Klapproth, chairman of the Halle Bezirk Council; Union Church Associate Prof Dr Dr Joachim Prasse, chairman of the Halle Bezirk Committee of the National Front; and Michael Heinemann, CDU chairman, Halle Bezirk. Bishop Armin Haertel of the Protestant Methodist Church of the GDR was also present.

In his speech Gerald Goetting emphasized that members of all classes and social levels in the GDR, citizens of different philosophical and religious convictions, are taking an active part in the preparations for the GDR Martin Luther tribute. It is only right and just "to consider the joint efforts of all groups of the National Front in preparing the Luther anniversary as a sign of the growing political-moral unity of our nation, as a symbol of the government's efforts to establish peace and friendship between nations, as a proof that our country is conscious of the total extent of its obligation to its historical heritage."

The speaker then paid tribute to the historic importance of Martin Luther as a prominent personality in our history. He did so by explaining the historical background of the Reformation, with its social contradictions and tensions, in which Luther's 95 theses had the effect of a "spiritual spark" in a powder keg. "For one complete, even though brief, phase of the German early middle-class revolution Luther was the harbinger of the forces opposing existing conditions." For us, Luther remains the man who with his "declaration of war against the Catholic hierarchy set in motion all of the opposition elements of Germany" (Engels) and who thereby created for a definite period of history a common spiritual platform for progressive class elements.

Gerald Goetting detailed the reformer's concerns that have lasted through the ages and are still important. "Active concern for the well-being of his fellow men was for Luther the most important meaning of work--concern for the well-being of man, for his individual and social well-being is the content and goal of socialist social progress." Lutheran ethics, especially in regard to one's profession and work, is closely related to the essence and concerns of socialism. "Our social order offers as good a social-economic basis as conceivable for the realization of those requirements that result from Luther's work ethics. If his ethics--e.g., calls for orderly and diligent work--appeals to our common sense and thriftiness, then these are moral values that rank high and have a good reputation in our history."

The speaker explained that Luther belongs to the unperishable components of our humanist heritage. "We are proud that we can pick up and fulfill today what in former centuries was the longing and hope of countless fighters for peace and progress of mankind, for the well-being of humanity and for the

happiness of the people. Especially we who live in a time of revolutionary social change know that we are spiritually related and obligated to all those who, at the turning point from a feudal to middle-class structure, were faced with similar revolutionary challenges. What they accomplished fills us with respect. Whatever remained unsolved then, remains a challenge for us."

Following this speech, the development and tendencies of recent Luther research were explained by Dr Helmar Junghans, professor department of theology, Karl-Marx University Leipzig, member of the GDR Martin Luther Committee and of the Church Luther Committee. Church Music Director Lothar Graap, Cottbus, spoke about Luther's relation to church music.

Chief Church Councilor Siegfried Schulze, Dessau, then detailed the preparations for the Luther anniversary in Protestant parishes and churches of our country. The year 1983 presents an opportunity for intensive attention to the reformer; this in turn results in new motivations for thinking about "our witness and services as a church today in a socialist country." Luther also instructs Christians, he continued to explain, to use their faith as best they can as human beings for the preservation of peace. In the present situation "much weight can often be attached to a few words, such as the open declaration by the Soviet Union some time ago renouncing any first use of nuclear weapons." Because Christians are obligated to serve the cause of peace, he said, "we are seriously concerned with anything that strengthens confidence and makes disarmament possible."

Union Church Associate Church Councilor Dr Gottfried Mueller, editor-in-chief of GLAUBE UND HEIMAT /Faith and Homeland/ and chairman of the working group Christian Circles at the Gera Bezirk National Front, outlined modern ecumenical aspects of Lutheranism. Manfred Sult, president of the Federation of Protestant Free Church Parishes in the GDR, spoke about Reformation principles of Free Church faith and life.

Luther's thoughts on the Protestant parish house, preserved in Protestant tradition, were presented by Union Church Associate Anneliese Probst-Seiler, Beesenstedt, writer and pastor. Pastor Dieter Hemmerling, director of the Lutheran Foundation Frankfurt (Oder), emphasized the social-ethical motivations provided by the reformer to today's works of charity performed by the church. Pastor Klaus Bretschneider, Eisleben, reported on the preparations for the Luther anniversary in Eisleben parishes.

Pastor Christoph Koerner, Mittweida, chairman of the Church Fraternity Saxony, explained the application of Martin Luther's two-power doctrine to the church's witness and service under socialism. Superintendent Juergen Baer, Ebersleben, chairman of the Weimar work group, pointed out how the two-power doctrine is applied to practice in the District Church of Thuringia.

In the concluding speech Werner Kirchhoff emphasized that the National Front "has ever since its establishment considered the expression of historical consciousness a part of its efforts to show political commitment, has pointed out at an early date the importance of the humanist heritage and has always considered the Martin Luther tribute very important." The Martin Luther

tribute on the occasion of his 500th birthday will further deepen and strengthen the political-spiritual and political-moral ties in our country during our struggle for peace and social progress, he said. At the same time, the impending Luther tribute in the context of the tense international political situation is "a time of challenge to all those who make a determined commitment for peace against the armaments race and the danger of war." In the motherland of Luther's Reformation, social and political conditions have been created in which there is complete agreement between the people's desire for peace, the peace actions of the individual, and the peace policy of the government, said Werner Kirchhoff. "All our peace efforts are aiming toward the following most urgent goals: to avoid a nuclear inferno, to stop the policy of imperialist rearmament, to rescind the Brussels decision on NATO rockets. In these tasks we find ourselves in agreement with all peace fighters in the worldwide peace movement who are representing the most different political, social and religious points of view and tendencies."

CDU Chairman's Speech

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Oct 82 p 3

/Excerpts from Gerald Goetting's speech at the Halle Conference of the 'Christian Circles' Working Group at the National Council of the GDR National Front: "Our Tribute to Luther--Manifestation of Humanism"/

For all of us--regardless of our philosophical or religious conviction--Martin Luther is a prominent personality from the past of our people and of humanity. At the turning point from the Middle Ages to modern times, he made an essential contribution to social and spiritual progress in Germany and even in much of Europe. For Protestant Christians he is and remains the great reformer of the church--an accomplishment that is recognized in many respects and to a large extent by Catholic Church historians. For Marxist historians, on the other hand, the Reformation is, as Friedrich Engels said, the first important, decisive battle in the struggle of the European middle class against feudalism. For all of us Luther's work is a firm component of humanist tradition, which in our socialist state is honored, preserved and continued on a new historical level under today's social conditions.

Each generation has its own ideas about important historical personalities. This is understandable and legitimate. In the historical consciousness of any generation, historical facts become intermingled with the generation's social experiences and needs. This always results in new points of view from which the respective personality is seen and judged. Martin Luther is no exception to this rule. He especially has been exposed to much abuse in the past. Former ruling classes in Germany--first the feudal aristocracy and later the upper middle class--often called Luther as their witness when trying to preserve existing social conditions. We have long tried to cleanse Luther's life achievement of such distorting judgments. In this effort the Marxist concept of history offers valuable help by judging Luther on the basis of the circumstances of his times, by making us realize his greatness within the limits of his era and by giving us a factual picture of the actual

historical consequences of his actions as reformer. Many contemporary church historians have also learned to see Luther in the context of the conditions of his society. This does not in the least diminish the role played by factors concerning faith in his personal development and decisions but rather explains why these factors especially became so important for him.

Recalled Origin of Church Doctrine and Practice

There is no doubt that Luther originally wanted nothing else but the renewal of the church of his time from inside. He wanted to cleanse it of false abuses and burdensome display, wanted to return church doctrine and practice to the state that was prescribed as Christian in the Bible and in early Christianity. He wanted neither to divide the church nor to bring about revolutionary changes in society. His concern was to bring the believers of his turbulent time into direct contact with the word and challenge of God, who according to Luther's opinion does not need any mediator besides Jesus Christ alone.

These articles of faith had matured in Luther during years of internal struggle and found their expression in his 95 theses of 31 October 1517. At any other time these theses would at most have given rise to theological discussions within the Catholic Church; originally Luther had devised them as a stimulus for this kind of discussion. But in the social situation of his time they resulted--without the intention of their author--in a public response that far surpassed their true object. The reason was that Luther's contemporaries understood these theses as criticism not only of certain doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church of their time but as criticism of the foundations of the feudal system whose dissolution had already begun.

This phenomenon can be explained only if one considers two factors. In Luther's time, people had thoughts and feelings exclusively in religious categories under the dominant influence of the Catholic Church; their social conduct too was derived to the greatest extent possible from faith. It was natural therefore that controversies on questions of faith and on the practice of church life frequently aroused extraordinarily strong public interest. On the other hand the Catholic Church was the strongest support of the feudal structure; that is, the social structure whose decay was beginning to show at that time. Therefore, any criticism of church doctrine, as soon as it assumed the form of criticism in principle, was directed objectively against the foundation of traditional conditions of society per se--and it was exactly these conditions that were in the process of change at that time. Only in this light can we understand why the dispute on questions of faith that was caused by Luther's theses changed so quickly into a social movement that questioned the feudal system as a whole.

This does not in any way exhaust Luther's historical achievements. He also provided essential stimuli for the historical processes that led to the formation of the middle-class nations. Let us consider only his pioneering achievement in developing a unified early High German written language. In the first place must be mentioned his translation of the New Testament

and then the Old Testament, which spread quickly and widely among the people who longed for knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. When Luther accomplished this linguistic achievement, he "looked at the mouth of the people," as he said and thereby performed a pioneer action for a living national language--an action that had its historical and cultural effects over the centuries.

There are other lasting ways in which Luther contributed to the cultural development of our people. Where would German church music be without his chorales, without his songs, which were set to music by his Protestant fellow reformers and through their influence were developed and spread by subsequent generations of Protestant cantors and composers? Luther's song "A Mighty Fortress" was the Marseillaise of the 16th century. What would the architecture of modern times be without the Protestant church building, what would the graphic arts from the Renaissance to our day be without the many-sided motifs that the Protestant religion provided for countless painters, graphic artists, sculptors and artisans? What would the moral and spiritual life of our people since the 16th century be without the Protestant parish house, without the Protestant family--two truly culture-forming institutions that go back directly to Luther's example.

Luther also decisively stimulated the charity work of the church; i.e., to the deaconate. He revived the early Christian practice with the entire community made responsible for the support of poor and sick parish members. He applied this duty to be active in charity work to the Protestant Church in general. He and his coworkers are responsible for the wholesome traditions of the work of deacons, which in his opinion should not be a special field of church activity beside all other church work but rather an expression of the life of the church in its total commitment, a proof of the strength of the faith of each Christian. Whereas he opposed the Catholic doctrine of the so-called salvation by good works, he retained the conviction that Christian faith implies the obligation of active care for the well-being of other human beings. This is the spiritual basis of the many-sided work of deacons, whose contributions are valued so highly in our country and are appreciated by socialist society as a service to humanity.

Luther also expressed his humanist concepts in the field of the German educational system of his time. Just like the poor and needy, the sick and weak, the children of his time--especially those from the levels of society that had been deprived of their rights--lived at the edge of society. In his well-known pamphlet of 1530 Luther invited "the councilment of all German cities to establish and support Christian schools."

Important Role of Reason in All Questions of This World

Luther's ideas on the role of reason in all questions of his world shaped especially the character of the early middle class. How highly he valued reason was clarified in his doctrine of the two kinds of government: the "government of God on the right," with which all people can make contact through faith alone, and the "government of God on the left," the worldly domain that people must manage according to their best ability. Luther

considered it impossible "to govern a whole country or the world...through the gospel"; i.e., to derive social or government decisions directly from faith. He believed that people should decide by themselves through their abilities and experiences and on the basis of their best knowledge and conscience what is good for society as a whole and for each individual.

This is a controversial idea of Luther. It should not imply that a Christian could dispense with his ethical values when acting in worldly matters. The idea should remind us, however, that Christians always have the obligation to make decisions that are of practical use to society, to make good use of their reason, to respect the lessons of history, to consider actual social circumstances and from this basis to take the right steps. Such efforts have always been made by socially responsible Christians in our country and this has resulted in their effective contributions to the socialist development of our republic.

Responsibility and reason must prove their value today primarily where the peace for our people and for humanity is at stake. Peace is the greatest challenge for any political activity that wants to do justice to the commandments of humanity and to the needs of all people now and in the future. Nothing is more important today than to preserve and protect peace. Luther said: "Peace can never be too expensive, because it brings so many advantages to the buyer." This was a wise statement in his time--how much more is it today, when the destructive force of war would be incomparably more disastrous than 450 years ago. Socialist foreign policy proceeds from the assumption that peace is the greatest good of all people. Anybody who really understands Luther will follow this idea.

From Christian Responsibility for Man and Peace

Because of the policy of intensive rearmament and confrontation pursued by the most aggressive circles of imperialism, life on earth today is jeopardized as never before since 1945. All of peace-loving mankind sees its challenge to protest a course that threatens the security of people with every new weapons of mass annihilation, with ever more adventurous doctrines of cold and hot war. In the worldwide peace movement countless officials from the churches of the Reformation, renowned theologians and other church personalities have found their place on the side of all the other forces of peace in opposition to a policy that contradicts all Christian responsibility for man and peace.

Only a short while ago, the president of the Lutheran World Federation, Tanzanian Bishop Dr Kibira, emphasized that the production, development and use of nuclear weapons of any kind must be categorically condemned for ethical and theological reasons. He proposed that the Lutheran World Federation in conjunction with the World Council of Churches, the Vatican and other churches should take the initiative in creating a permanent ecumenical commission for peace so that the churches could "speak on this point with one unified and strong Christian voice."

Thus Luther's peace legacy is creatively accepted and realized--and thus, as this example shows, old denominational barriers can be overcome through a joint effort by churches and religious communities in behalf of peace in a way that corresponds with the social responsibility of Christians. A good example of such effort was presented in May by the Moscow World Conference of representatives from different religions in behalf of saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe, a conference in which authorized officials from Lutheran churches took an active part.

Luther saw the preservation of peace as one of the principal tasks of the state. Referring to Romans 13 he stated: "Worldly authorities have been established by God not to destroy peace and start war but to manage peace and avoid war." In interpreting this passage from Paul's letter to the Romans, Luther sees the state also from the point of view of its dual task and therefore he continues: "The duty of the sword should be to protect and punish, to protect good people by preserving peace, and to punish bad people by making war." At another place he agrees that in case of war "bad people should be punished so that peace will not be disturbed by them."

Luther thus has a very realistic view of the contrasting realities of this world--the contrast between the forces protecting peace and those forces that for questionable reasons are willing to start a war. "Whoever starts a war is wrong," Luther emphasizes and he adds: "It is only just that he should be beaten and in the end punished who is the first to draw the knife." Under today's conditions this means that defense readiness against those who are arming themselves in order to start a war is legitimate and mandatory for all who--in order to speak as Luther--want to manage peace and avoid war because "in war one must stand up and defend oneself," as he says.

This and nothing else is the meaning of the security doctrine of our socialist republic and its allies. They will do whatever they can to avoid the danger of war. They are in favor of negotiating and international understanding in order to avoid nuclear war and of limiting any kind of weapons on the basis of mutuality and undiminished security, of decreasing and possibly eliminating completely existing arms stockpiles. They are in favor of limiting and solving all international conflicts in a political way; that is, by peaceful means. At the same time they are ready and able to restrain any aggressor, by military means if necessary. They are in favor of a mutual agreement to renounce force. The Soviet Union has even made the unilateral commitment never to be the first country to use nuclear weapons. But vigilance is required so that anybody who disturbs the peace can be confronted with armed force.

Socialist foreign and military policy is therefore essentially peace policy. Christian citizens of the GDR are in agreement with it and support it. Countless young Christians--regardless of denomination--serve in our armed forces, countless Christian citizens in their professions and in society cooperate with the measures that strengthen the defense readiness of our country--and they do this with the comforting knowledge that with their work they help to strengthen and protect a state that considers its highest task

to ensure that, with the help of its allies, German soil will never again be the starting point of another war. They consider this an effective form of their peace service, to which they are called and obligated both as Christians and as citizens of our socialist republic.

Luther believed that it was the highest duty of a Christian to be active socially with the purpose of serving the cause of peace and one's fellow men. He left us the saying: "Act in a way that you will be found in a state of helping your neighbor." This moral imperative was also the guideline of his social-ethical ideas. He had a very high opinion of work and he encouraged everybody to set an example in doing his professional duties. Thus he says: "We should remain in our profession with a happy conscience, and be aware that this kind of work accomplishes more than founding monasteries and supporting religious orders; even if it is only the most menial house work." Statements of this kind date from Christian traditions of Biblical and early church times. How much more are they valid today--under conditions where society guarantees that the fruits of good work, the results of common efforts by working people will benefit society as a whole and thereby each individual.

Luther's work ethics can teach us how to manage economically all the goods available to our national economy. The principles of our economic strategy for the 1980's show what beneficial effects such economy with raw materials and energy, with production and investment means have on the entire society. Practically speaking, Protestant work ethics thus has the same consequences as the political economics of socialism; i.e., the readiness to put talents and knowledge in the service of continued economic and social progress of our society--a policy that is outlined in the directions for our principal goals--and to make available for this task all scientific-technical, economic and spiritual reserves.

This is the kind of realistic attitude that brings Luther close to us. In this way, much of what he left us in the form of knowledge and directions becomes for Protestant Christians in our country a source of strength enabling them to meet with responsibility all challenges of our time. To them Luther should make it clear especially that Christians are always judged by the activity with which they prove their faith and ethics of life.

An Unperishable Part of Our Historical Heritage

Our society looks at Luther and the traditions coming from him as an unperishable part of the humanist heritage that our society has received from the history of our people. Our society is a historically conscious society, which is aware that its present and future are connected with the past by thousands of ties.

This does not mean that we close our eyes to a number of false developments that began in that time, almost 500 years ago. Historical retrospect to that era enables us to form a clear judgment, for instance, on the disastrous internal church and social consequences of the alliance of

throne and altar, which began in the later part of Luther's life and became ever stronger in subsequent centuries. To face one's heritage and creatively to make it one's own includes the task of critically separating and overcoming whatever burdens of the past are included in this heritage. For this task, too, all social conditions are provided for Christians in our socialist circumstances.

Of special importance to us is the fact that by recalling Luther many Protestant Christians since the days of our liberation from fascism have been helped to do what courageous confessors of faith from the Reformation to the years of antifascist resistance have always exemplified in their lives: to exist for others, to put themselves in service to people and peace. By returning to the sources of their faith and through joint work with other humanist groups of different philosophies or religion, they found their way into the political-moral unity of our people, which is exemplified in the National Front of the German Democratic Republic and which belongs to the most important driving forces of social development in our republic. This political-moral unity includes all who are of good will and want to preserve peace for our country and mankind and to work for the well-being of all.

On the basis of these principles, which correspond with social experiences of Christian citizens, experiences derived from cooperation with the socialist development of our country, on 6 March 1978 constructive and open talks were held during the reception for the leaders of the Conference of the Protestant Church Administration in the GDR by Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council. The conclusions reached at this meeting on the peace commitment of the churches, on their support for international relaxation and understanding, on their contribution to the goals of ending the armaments race and banning weapons of mass destruction, on their humanitarian aid to nations that are needy and struggling for their liberation, on their cooperation in trying to reach the deepest humanist goals of our society, on the participation by all citizens in the work of socialism--all these are related to our practical experiences and remain guidelines for state-church relations on the basis of openness, understanding and the willingness to achieve constructive agreements. This willingness also shows in the preparations for the Luther year 1983, which are going ahead on the basis of good cooperation of the GDR Luther Committee and the Church Luther Committee.

Next year we will be able to welcome in our republic many guests from other countries--representatives from churches and governments, scientists, artists and also many tourists. We look forward to showing them how seriously our nation takes its duty toward peace and how consistently our country works jointly with its socialist brother countries and the friends of peace all over the world for the protection of peace. Our guests will be able to realize that the humanist heritage of the Age of Reformation and also those sites closely related to the life and work of Martin Luther are in good hands in our country. Visitors from other countries will get a vivid impression that Christians, as members of society with equal rights and duties, actively contribute to the progress of developed socialism, which is being built in

our country under the leadership of the working class and its party as a joint effort with all social groups and through joint activities of citizens of all classes and levels regardless of their social background, philosophy or religious affiliation. Our guests will be able to look at the results of this socialist work and will get to know the spirit of unanimity with which all groups of the GDR National Front are committed to peace and international friendship.

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CSO: 2300/21

WROCLAW ECONOMICS ACADEMY RECTOR KALETA INTERVIEWED

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 24, 3 Oct 82 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Prof. Jozef Kaleta, rector of Wroclaw Academy of Economics, by Zdzislaw Zaryczny; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Sir, your name is quite universally associated with the post-August times. So much so that some attribute to you the views of the radical wing of Solidarity.

[Answer] Are we going to talk about facts or hearsay?

[Question] About facts! For example, in your speech at the Ninth Special Congress of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] you have stated that "...our society is ready for the effort and specific sacrifices if only it had some broader prospects." What prospects did you have in mind?

[Answer] I thought that it will be possible to achieve national accord. I was an ardent supporter of this idea, and I have expressed it publicly on more than one occasion. It also seemed to me that it would be possible to introduce an integrated economic reform. I always maintained that only such a reform will enable us to find a solution for the crisis.

[Question] You gave a speech on the first day of the congress not knowing yet what its final achievements will be.

[Answer] I expected the achievements not to be insignificant and I was not disappointed. For example, the Ninth Congress economic resolution is, in my opinion, very interesting. The Congress also created an atmosphere conducive to the continuation of a dialogue between the authorities and society together with a quick conclusion in the form of understanding despite critical and pessimistic forecasts. But I was an optimist then.

[Question] And today?

[Answer] First of all, the situation is considerably more difficult than a year ago. Attempts to resume the dialogue are not bringing, for the time being, any serious results. Societal apathy prolongs itself and in some

milieus it turns into passive resistance of the authorities. The economic situation of the country has also become considerably more complicated. All these factors had to lead to a worsening of the political climate.

[Question] Have we then wasted this year?

[Answer] Not quite. Certain events exhibit positive characteristics, for example, an upturn in the mining industry, decent crops of this year's harvest. However, I do think that in a few fundamental issues we did not achieve progress. One of them is lack of specific action on the part of political and economic administrative bodies which would add to their credibility. I continue to notice a tremendous distrust of the society toward institutions and offices.

[Question] You have been repeating this for years! As well as an economic reform project under the auspices of the Wroclaw Academy of Economics which contained a proposal for considerable reduction of the administrative sector particularly on the central and voivodship levels. What was the outcome of the project? Can you say today that, in general, at least one of the postulates of your proposal was implemented?

[Answer] As you know, the Wroclaw project was published at the end of May of last year. I think that its authors need not be embarrassed despite the fact that the proposals of other teams were used as a point of departure for the reform. I will not point out the differences, however, for contrary to many opinions, in the fundamental assumptions the projects concurred. This fact has manifested itself in resolutions which were passed and which dealt with companies and their budget management.

Unfortunately, a postulate proposed by us dealing with the integration factor of the economic reform has not been adhered to. It was our opinion that the reform will bring the desired results only when it will encompass simultaneously prices, planning, investment outlays, foreign trade and so on. For the economy is an organism functioning on the principle of connected vessels. It is not possible to take out one element out of them and refine it at the expense of the other. It is already apparent today that the reform is not an integrated one. There continues to exist overly developed bureaucratic structures as, for example, subsectors, excessive number of foreign trade companies and industrial associations, formally transformed into unions. Furthermore, the reform did not incorporate the system of distribution. The reform did not bring many changes to the system of taxation of companies or to the central planning organization.

Some ascertain that the reform mainly resolved itself to just the price changes. I must admit that I share these views. Really, price increases are visible because here the reform was carried out in a rational manner. But precisely because of the fact that the reform is not an integrated one, not much has changed in the entire economy, and the situation in some branches of the economy has even become worse. For example, the ability to

set prices freely by companies led to a situation where companies no longer needed to make an effort to reduce the costs and increase labor productivity for they were able to easily make profit through price increases. I agree, however, that prices should be set within companies but on the condition that an integrated reform will be introduced, i.e. we will create competition, we will allow import competition, the play of market forces and only then companies will be able to set realistic prices rather than ones from the thin air. In the meantime, we continue to maintain a monopoly of producers, we have no competition, and we allow companies to freely set prices. Such a state of affairs must lead to negative results.

[Question] Are there other postulates which have not been implemented?

[Answer] In the Wroclaw project we were emphasizing the incentive function of wages and profit. We stated that profit is a fundamental measure of economic activity and its evaluation, and wages--the fundamental motivational force. Yet these two basic premises of the reform were left out. Next to profit there are, for example, still other, more important measures: one calculates the plan, its fulfillment, one maintains numerous operational programs, and throughout there continues to exist, without change, the management system based on directives from above. I am afraid that it, with the existing system of company taxation, may destroy positive results of the reform. The basis of the reform was to be the dependence of wages on economic results, the creation of incentives for a continuous increase in labor productivity. It is possible that had we had such incentives, the employment structure as well would look differently. People would know that for better work they will receive better pay. They would then tolerate neither wastefulness nor overgrowth of the bureaucratic structure. But unfortunately, in reality, companies were denied even this token of independence. It is not the companies but administration which directs the employment politics. And as is well known, for thirty-five years it has been accustomed to act by means of impositions and prohibitions.

[Question] Once again it is the administration?

[Answer] I always maintained that the administrative body will not reform itself. Some external forces must come into play here.

[Question] What kind of external forces?

[Answer] At the Ninth Congress I suggested that the party take these matters into its hands and bring about the reduction in the administrative body. Energetic action is badly needed. Already after the announcement of the martial law, in one of the press interviews, I suggested that perhaps the military could bring about such a reduction. Some even held grudges against me for suggesting this.

[Question] But do you see a possibility of radical changes, for example, through an introduction of one ministry of industry instead of several one-line ministries, just like the Hungarians did?

[Answer] In our project we proposed just that. I believe that we can afford it.

[Question] Even today?

[Answer] Even today. What would really change?

[Question] Well, I can already visualize this "disaster". Torn up threads of connections and contacts, the fear of directors and clerks, confusion in companies. Frankly speaking, with our present form of management, I cannot imagine it.

[Answer] Yet all the time we say, however, that changes are necessary. We need to do away with the system of impositions from above and introduce a decentralized management system in which economic mechanisms will function as instruments of economic direction. We commit a serious mistake, clutching to the present form and methods of economic management, paying tribute to dogmas set forth many years ago, which today simply do not fit real life. It is my opinion, for example, that it does not collide with the idea of socialism if a bad state farm which brings the nation's economy losses is liquidated, and its land leased to individual farmers. The nationalization of means of production does not at all require collective labor. A similar situation exists in services, skilled and small trades. Socialism does not require the nationalization of small hotels, bars and street stands.

[Question] Professor, let us go one floor down and let us take a look at the administrative body which you so mercilessly flog. We say "body" but let us be specific which parts of it do we have in mind. We criticize the body not knowing what internal lines of demarcation exist in it. Do we have at our disposal such research tools which would allow fast and precise information in this area?

[Answer] You are right. One cannot disqualify the entire structure. Certainly, a sizeable portion of it works well and justifies its existence particularly in areas where it directly serves the citizens. The service branch must be safeguarded and here the administrative body should even grow.

My criticism is primarily directed at economic administration and if I speak of reduction, I have in mind just that sector, starting from the central level down to the basic one. Decidedly it would be necessary to limit administrative sector in companies. For we even have such construction companies where 30-40 percent of employees are clerks. These are records on a world scale! The press should more frequently describe such cases in order to inform society and bring about its pressure to resolve the problem.

[Question] I was asking about research tools and you are speaking of the press.

[Answer] Such tools, of course, exist but we have no institutions which would utilize them. We do not have, for example, specialized public opinion and economic effectiveness centers which would poll developmental tendencies and the mood of the people. Research carried out in academies of economics is rather fragmentary and it is not published.

A few competitive centers would be desirable for the information monopoly of the Main Statistical Office [GUS], as the past indicates, can bring undesirable results. One cannot limit oneself to just one source of information. There must be alternative, independent research centers, for example, under the auspices of the trade unions.

[Question] Correct. It is not normal that press readers in the FRG or France find out sooner and in greater detail about Poland's debts or trade transactions than we do here in Poland.

[Answer] My colleagues, professors, say for example that they go to Japan to study the economy of socialist countries because there are better and richer sources there. I, too, while recently visiting in the United States, talked with people at Columbia University who conduct research on the Polish economy. They have more material and analyses there than some of our universities.

Unfortunately, we did not have and continue to a large degree not to have access to source materials, for example, on the international balance of payments. It is a curious fact that the Finance Institute under the Ministry of Finance did not receive from its division data on the balance of payments and foreign trade because these were considered to be classified matters. Under such conditions it is impossible to carry out integrated, objective evaluations of the economy. It is one of the causes of incorrect diagnoses which partially play a role in the present crisis. In such a situation even competent advisers can help little.

[Question] And which team of advisers do you consider the best?

[Answer] Probably the Economic Council of 1956 with Lange, Kalecki, Bobrowski and Brus. Great names, great authorities.

[Question] At that time there was also talk of integrated, radical reform.

[Answer] Yes, and there was a chance for great changes.

[Question] Why then were they not carried out?

[Answer] Because the entire process of renewal after October 1956 together with an economic reform was at some point stopped by central bureaucracy. An error was committed by retaining personnel from the previous team, who wanted to demonstrate that it is they who are correct and that their model is better.

[Question] Did the situation repeat itself in 1971, also after a political turning point and in the face of an anticipated economic reform?

[Answer] Analogies are very clear. Gierek also announced far-reaching reforms which the resolution of the Sixth Congress included in the official program of the party and government actions. Unfortunately, once again the central structure was not reduced. Yes, the administration on the rural district level was reduced and town districts were abolished but nobody wanted to or could touch the central offices. The structure remained and with it its privileges.

[Question] But after August 1980 the situation was entirely different. Society's degree of knowledge was different. The workers were different.

[Answer] That is why it was and still is our greatest chance for the realization of the reform.

[Question] Today we are at the threshold of a new period of the development of the situation in the country. Whether we like it or not--we have to think in economic terms. It is caused primarily by the drastic increase in the cost of living.

[Answer] Yes, it is apparent. The great majority of society evaluates the governing team and the economy's management system by means of the degree by which the material needs of an individual are met. After all, this is the fundamental goal of the socialist economy.

[Question] In the meantime, to reach this goal one still needs to travel far. The mood of society will certainly not improve because of it. Can we, at the threshold of fall and winter, expect a new wave economic of demands? I am asking you as an economist and a political activist.

[Answer] Yes, I am afraid that is correct. People blame the authorities for the worsening of their situation. I get visits from employees of the Academy of Economics, the adjuncts, the PhD's, who tell me that if they have two children and the wife is on childcaring leave then their families simply have no money to purchase all the items to which they are entitled with their rationing coupons. Of course, they blame the authorities, everybody, for the present status quo. If to all this one adds a disastrous housing situation, problems in finding employment by graduates of higher schools--can one be surprised that anxieties intensify? We should realize this without emotion and make an effort to forestall what can happen tomorrow.

[Question] What do you have in mind?

[Answer] Always the same questions! The economists answer them without change. First, it is necessary to quickly implement an integrated economic

reform. Second, it is necessary to do everything in order to achieve national accord. Third, make an effort so that economic sanctions placed on our country are lifted.

I also agree that the price reform in the absence of reform in other sectors of economy leads to a situation where people who do not understand economic principles disqualify the reform because it worsened their living conditions. If we had few opponents of the reform in the past, we have many more of them today. It is my opinion that it is necessary to break away from sector reforms for they discredit the idea of an economic reform and bring out the distrust in people.

[Question] I must finally strike a blow at you. On one hand you sharply criticize the administrative body and on the other--you simultaneously are its "producer". Every year, the Academy of Economics graduates young people with M.S. degrees who are prime candidates for administrative posts. Are you, as a rector, aware who the academy graduates?

[Answer] It is true that academies of economics educate people for the administrative structure--for the planning commission, for economics posts, etc. I must, however, state that the administrative structure consists mainly of people from other professions. In Poland, by comparison with other socialist countries, we do not have very many economists per 1,000 employed persons. And it is not the economists who play a decisive role in the administration, it is not the economists who hold key posts.

[Question] Yet a question remains: How are they educated? Frankly speaking, I do not see excessive action on the part of the young economists.

[Answer] They do not always have room to show off their talents in a system of impositions from above. In our economy one works according to technological rather than economic principles. Thus, frequently, the engineers and lawyers occupy positions as directors and chairmen. As a result, people leave their professions. Certainly there are many more taxi drivers--economists than engineers. Of course, there are also many people with degrees who are not educated or not quite educated. Conformists, too, can be found. Such are facts.

However, I would like to express certain optimism, for these young graduates of ours are rather well prepared for work in decentralized systems, for economics posts and not bureaucratic ones, where they will be able to act utilizing the tools of economics rather than impositions and prohibitions.

[Question] But are they the front runners of Polish economy and will they defeat the bureaucracy?

[Answer] Who knows?

9949

CSO: 2600/33

'BLUE BERET' TASKS, TRAINING, PERSONNEL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 39, 26 Sep 82 pp 6, 7, 23

[Article by Zbigniew Damski: "If You Wear the Blue Beret"]

[Text] The sunburned steel of the tank almost sears to the touch. Inside the steel box - better not to say...

And when they've fired the gun...

For the time being, fortunately, the gun has not fired. It will be cleaned. The turret has been turned over; the short barrel of the 76.2 mm caliber has been breeched and now Corporals Lucjan Trela and Piotr Antkowiak join parts of the ramrod.

And - together!

Antkowiak is the commander of this tank, Trela of the neighboring one. Here in the tank area during preparation of military vehicles for the next exercises, the crews help each other and it makes no difference that this one is a commander and that one is "only" a mechanic. Anyway, mechanic-driver Master Sgt Zbigniew Szewinski is inside the tank because to clean the gun a third person is necessary.

"In these tanks the crew is made up of a total of three people," explains Corporal Antkowiak, "the loader, mechanic-driver, and the commander, that is me..."

In order to change from a civilian automotive technician-mechanic to the commander of a tank, it is necessary first to study for six months in the noncommissioned officers school and then to continue to do so actually until the end of the 2-year service. Both commanders Antkowiak and Trela in civilian life were just such technicians: did this help in mastering the art of commanding a tank?

"Maybe yes... Anyway, we were picked for non-commission officer school especially from this angle having had a general or technical secondary education."

This is clear if you know at least roughly the requirements of the tank commander. They are in general not few and in military vehicles of this type he has still more tasks: he fires the gun. Technically, this is called "leading the fire", that is, he himself must find and select the target, approach to the distance of an effective shot (looking out for the whole of his vehicle), and hit it. The loader, who in addition services the machine gun and, if necessary, the large-caliber anti-aircraft machine gun, has his own part in this. The mechanic-driver has his part also but the commander is the brains of the whole works and the last word is always his.

"...but he too gets the boot if something does not work out like it is supposed to!"

But can it not work out?

"We train so that things work out the best possible..."

Mechanic-drivers have a slightly different opinion on this subject:

"All the tactics are for nothing if the tank is not going to run like a top. And that depends on us."

Master Sgt Zbigniew Swieczkowski works with a high pressure engine of almost 300 hp. The engine hold is tight and you have to maneuver quite a bit to get yourself and your wrenches where you are supposed to be. First, however, you must know what the problem is with the engine.

"I was an automotive mechanic in the Koscierzyna 'Transbuda' plant," says Swieczkowski. "But here I got more education. A tank is something completely different but the principles of mechanics are the same everywhere. And the work is the same: dirty."

There is no exaggeration in this because he really is greasy up to the elbows. That is how each of the soldiers working around the armored vehicles looks. There are many of them but they somehow disappear among the long rows of evenly lined up tanks and armored transports.

You can see Swieczkowski has finished his work because his tank's engine roared and in the clouds of exhaust rolled out of the formation. A few precise maneuvers, a short drive forward and to the rear until at last one turn and sixteen tons of steel stop exactly in the same place where it was a short while ago - in a fairly tight gap between other tanks, perfectly in line.

"A master!" the platoon commander says with respectful approval. But to become a really good mechanic-driver here, you must drive at least a year because you do not only drive a tank over land but also in the water.

No, it is useless to look for typical propellers or a rudder. This version of amphibious tank PT-76 uses a stream propeller in the water. The pumps respectively suck water in and expel it under great pressure which gives it its "jet propulsion". The currents regulate the speed and steer the water-borne vehicle both forward and backward. An excellent type of propulsion, especially in shallows where propellers and rudders would not do the trick.

"...and it is not easy, and you have to train a lot to master this skill perfectly."

Technical notes abound. A smooth and properly timed change from "track" to "stream" propulsion and back, on which depends the art of coming out of the water onto shore or the correct loading onto a landing ship must be learned by heart. Of course, the essential condition here is such a knowledge of steering as to flawlessly and exactly reach the ramp in the open hold of a ship, and sometimes this must be done backwards and at night...

Two grimy driver-mechanics, Master Sgt Mirosław Serafin and Master Sgt Czesław Szuttenberg are carrying a large greasegun.

"We're going to grease the running system and the rocker arms," they say. "Tonight we are going for a lesson in aquatics and the vehicles must be properly prepared."

No, they will not go to sea. Not yet. They have here not far away their own special body of water, a small lake. It is necessary to train hard there first.

"The people who write about us, about the 'blue berets', are carried away most often by fantasy," says Capt Ryszard Pisiewicz with a trace of sorrow. "People then think that we constantly splash around in the sea and yell on the beaches but that is not true. I understand that they are looking for interesting topics and unusual and effective situations, and they describe a landing operation. It is true that much happens then but that kind of training occurs rarely and lasts a short time while the basic work occurs here in the tank area and on the exercise field from daybreak to nightfall, and sometimes still longer, all year long. And that work after all is the most important. That it is uninteresting..."

We have indeed become rather accustomed to happy pictures "crowning the work". Thanks to this "hearts were to grow" so only positive effects counted without additional inquiry and explanations of how they were reached."

"And nothing comes quickly or by itself," adds Capt Pisiewicz. "For example, the first individual combat shooting no. 2 in the field was done by the company with an almost 36 percent score while it was 79 percent in the second for an average score of 3.58. Several tank commanders hit the targets with their first shots."

The captain came to the Shore Defense Unit directly after a promotion in the "Poznan Armored" in 1974 and before he became company tank commander he went through all the successive levels of initiation. After so many years he surely knows now how to instruct so as to raise the initial 36 percent to 79 percent and more.

"The basis is order in the company," he says. "This broadly understood: in matters of administration and living conditions with such work organization that every person knows exactly what he has to do, where, when, and how. Then nothing stands in the way of everyone being able to perform his duties - we who instruct and our soldiers who must master the soldier trade."

A simple formula. Later, one of the platoon commanders Second Lieutenant Pawel Lamla will tell me that the commander brought in such order and demands this every day, although there are so-called "objective difficulties." The commander himself speaks about these briefly.

Among the leading "gymnasts" the commander counts the top man of the armored of 1980 Second Lieutenant Pawel Lamla, platoon commander and his unofficial assistant for political affairs, platoon commander Second Lieutenant Jaroslaw Cwiek, Jacek Schomburg who, before he completed Gdansk Technical University, used to go to sea with his fisherman father, and the company technician, an outstanding specialist Company Ensign Roman Skarzyski.

"...and let's look only at the duties of such a technician. Here a driver-mechanic not only must drive excellently but he himself is responsible for the ongoing and total efficiency of his tank. And these are young and not very experienced boys. A technician must therefore know every tank through and through, know and show what to do and how to do it, secure the appropriate parts, and check completed work. It is true that later all the 'dirty work' in the tank area falls on the driver-mechanics and there is a lot of it but that is the army and nobody will do that for them. And that is the best lesson."

There is no doubt. In this matter much depends on the "other side", on the instructed themselves, on how they relate to their duties and on their willingness to learn and to work - in a word on what is generally called "attitude".

"...and in this area," says the commander, "much depends on us."

It is clear that youth of the age which began service in 1981 were exceptionally agitated internally, frightened, critical and negative. The crisis and the seesaw of events hit them very hard because youth experience everything most passionately, and considerable confusion was left in their minds. Added to this was their confrontation with adult life. They started their first job most often in agitated crews, in a mess resulting from shortages which brought with it laxity and production decline. That is how the

disbelief in the sensibility of undertaking any kind of honest effort began in many youth.

"...and that is why we here must organize service and work so that every soldier knows that his labor is purposeful and has sense and that his efforts will be noted."

That's nice but after all every commander has in his hand an instrument such as a direct order: such and such has to be done, execute, march off.

"Of course! Except that an assignment done willingly is certainly done better."

And how do you generate this willingness? After all the draft notice certainly did not arouse any enthusiasm in many of those who now work in the tank area.

"Agreed" says the commander, "but today it is enough to say, 'This has to be done as befits a soldier of the amphibious landing force.'"

And from further comments of Capt Pisiewicz comes the following: it is a perfectly natural reaction in a person, especially a young person, that he wants to be better than others. You must give him the opportunity. The blue beret gives this to him, distinguishing him from others, but the distinguished one must know that he must work for this beret. That, in connection with this, more will be expected of him.

"...and I am not afraid of the term 'elite'," continues the commander. "This is necessary. It gives a better frame of mind and creates additional incentive. Every boy tries doubly hard if he knows that he has reached this elite - that has been proven. And nothing stands in the way of earning this feeling among soldiers and in other branches of service, in sappers, signalmen, artillerymen, etc., because they have the same opportunities.

As was said once by the renowned tank man of the Second World War Gen. Franciszek Skibinski: "A soldier is like a child: it's enough to give him a black shoulder strap for him to feel that he is better and can perform miracles." In this ironic statement is a deep truth and an important reason for the now popular discussion on "equality". Perhaps, enough damage has been done by an understanding of the word to mean equalizing towards the bottom, towards averageness and dullness.

"Because everywhere, and especially in Poland, people are needed who lead others," says the commander, "people with characteristics of 'informal leaders'. We have such and we are glad. For instance, Master Sgt Wiktor Bryja, tank driver-mechanic of the first platoon commander, and leader of our youth organization. He is not 'distinguished'; he simply has that something which has allowed him to rise to the top. And today we can quietly entrust to our young people such matters as designation for award passes and vacations..."

In the tank area is a group of soldiers which is distinguished by its clean exercise uniforms and still clean hands. Nothing strange, they have been in the army only ten days. They look interestedly at the inside of the tanks. That will be their place - at the loading positions.

"We train them here for ourselves," says greasy Corporal Zbigniew Bulczak. He is a tank commander and he shares with a second tank commander, Corporal Wieslaw Parchem, the role of overseer and instructor. "They have even been separated into specific crews..."

The groups already walk fairly well in order; it's a little worse with the drill being led in small columns on the drill ground. However, when an SGMT machine gun appears on a blanket-covered table, the interest rises. They are already able to name individual parts of it ("We've worked on this a little bit") and now a turn for disassembly and assembly. Instructions, demonstration, and please, now you alone.

"That is the ABC's of it," says Corporal Bulczak, "but each of us started with this. Anyway, in a tank all functions are important and everyone must know his part perfectly."

Exactly: because the strength of the whole chain depends on the strength of each individual link. That is why there are no unimportant parts.

A year from now in this unit I will not meet any of today's tank commanders or mechanic-drivers. They will leave and what kind of person will be here then?

9915

CSO: 2600/46

AUTHOR DISCUSSES WORKS ON POLISH MILITARY AIRCRAFT

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 19, 26 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Morgala by Tadeusz Malinowski, date and place not specified]

[Text] There is no individual in our country interested in Polish military aircraft who is not familiar with Andrzej Morgala's books. In three volumes, on almost 1,800 pages of type, he has presented a compendium of knowledge about aircraft used by the Polish Air Force starting in 1918. The very gathering and sorting of 12,000 or so pieces of information required many years of labor, perseverance and inquiries for such a formidable and most comprehensive work to appear. As stated so beautifully to me by Magister Andrzej Morgala, the three volumes of "Polish Military Aircraft" are an expression of his recognition and respect for all those who built Polish military aircraft. And that is not all, I should add. They also are a valuable and significant contribution to the historiography of Polish aviation technology.

[Question] Sir, what influenced your interest in aviation, especially aircraft?

[Answer] The desire to fly was the decisive factor. When I was a glider pilot I helped the mechanic to repair equipment. I visited old hangars which held many abandoned airplanes, looking into their corners--I am talking about the 1940s. At the Silesian Aeroclub--in view of my interest--it was suggested that I give lectures on the design of airframes and aircraft engines. I conducted these lectures for a certain time and at the same time gathered documentary material on Polish aircraft. After a couple of years, the condition of the museum exhibits transported from Wroclaw to Krakow shocked me deeply. When I looked at the World War I airplanes something within me broke. I then understood as never before that there is something in them, that they contain a great store of technical knowledge, a treasury of ideas, inventions and ingenuity. Since that time my interest in aviation designs doubled.

[Question] Is that when you got the idea to write the books?

[Answer] Not at all. I never even thought about it. That happened many years later at the instigation of my instructor. When I started flying balloons my instructors were Zbigniew Burzynski and Franciszek Janik. It began with articles on balloons that Burzynski urged me to write. They were published in SKRZYDLATE POLSKA. That was the beginning of my education in publication. After spending some time in the aviation environment and being in contact with young people, I realized that there was no book on interwar period military aircraft. One day I looked at my material, became convinced that it is interesting and could be published if properly compiled. I learned the methodology of preparing a book while writing my master's thesis. I then submitted a proposal to the MON [Ministry of National Defense] Publishing House. Some time later I learned that my offer was accepted.

[Question] How many years did it take you to write the first book?

[Answer] The preparation of the material and writing the book took almost 3 years. But I gathered the material over a period of 12 years or so.

[Question] As an author, what do you think of your first work?

[Answer] I am not pleased with it. The same holds true for the books that followed. It is only when the work is finished that I notice its shortcomings. One cannot continue to make additions or corrections forever. The publishing house, which earlier established its size and composition schedule, is waiting for the book. Certain concessions must be made; one cannot write a single book for the rest of one's life. After the first volume appeared, I received many letters and additional material. If I could work on it one more time, then I would start from scratch. Some text passages should be eliminated and other passages expanded because several new designs have been revealed, for example, Zygmunt Pulawski's unfamiliar P-2 airplane.

[Question] The second volume deviates somewhat from the first and third volumes. Why did you choose such and not another concept to write the second volume?

[Answer] It is a book about airplanes used by Poles in World War II, and a large part of the text--initially unforeseen--was added as an afterthought by me at the request of the publishers. For the first time I presented equipment changes for individual units in a synthetic form, including selected military operations with combat feats. Thanks to archival documentation, data on utilized aircraft could be sorted, the arrangement could be prepared and, for the first time, many known facts and details could be presented.

[Question] What guided you when writing the books? What documents or material determined the form of your work: Where did you obtain the technical information for your books?

[Answer] The life of an airplane is quite complicated: it arises in a certain designated place, then a prototype is constructed there or at some other place, then it is produced serially and utilized by the units, and the end of an airplane often is baffling. Thus, one must go to many sources. Regarding the final shape of a book, I was guided by three primary sources: first, the aircraft concept, the design, the prototype and its initiation into production; second, the application of the airplane; and third, the retirement of the airplane from a unit. I studied many unique documents. At times I was surprised that they still exist, that they have been waiting for me for dozens of years so that they could finally be disclosed. I was unable to obtain drawings of all the airplanes, but I did discover their working or detail documentation. I obtained a large part of the relations concerning the construction of aircrafts from the engineers, technicians and workers. I often checked and compared these relations with other sources. I was guided by the chronology of events and the logic of association of facts, continually checking details and making comparisons, and as a result I developed a viewpoint on a specific type aircraft and its development versions. The pilots and aviation personnel who worked daily with the airplanes helped me very much. I depended on their goodwill and they did not disappoint me.

[Question] Your third volume contains much unknown information about airplanes utilized after the war by our airforce. And at the same time you showed up to be an inquisitive investigator...

[Answer] I believe that I was the first to have the opportunity to become acquainted with the instructors for the utilized aircraft. I had access to source material by virtue of which I was able to present original material to the reader, first hand so to speak.

[Question] How many years did it take you to write the three volumes on Polish military aircraft?

[Answer] The writing alone took about 10 years. They are years that are obliterated from my life, so to speak. Each day after completing my regular work (I work in the power engineering industry), I would work on the book. I neglected my family and limited social contacts to an absolute minimum; I discontinued going to the movies and theater; I seldom watched TV. Simply stated, I had to choose. If I acted differently I would have been only half way through my accomplished work.

[Question] Being more experienced and knowing the opinions of many readers who contributed greatly to the popularization of Polish aircraft, would you now write these books the same way or differently?

[Answer] I got much experience just by writing, and the sympathetic readers of my books helped me a great deal. I would write differently; I would arrange the material presented in the first volume differently. I would

show only serially built aircraft, that is, those that made an important contribution during peacetime and wartime. The first volume would be the most changed one. I would include small supplements in the other volumes.

[Question] What aircraft were first described in your books?

[Answer] The average reader of my books does not even realize that there are many. The most important are: Volume 1 aircraft: PWS-15, Wibault 70C1, Lublin R-XIIIE, DH-60G, Bre-XIVT bis., LeO H-13, LeO H-135, CAMS-30 and LWS-5; based on original documents and the accounts of the designers: LWS-4, Zubr and PWS-35 Ogar. For the first time I included unrealized designs: BM-1, PWS-40, PWS-22, PWS-23, PWS-17, M2 family of fighter planes, Sep. PWS-27 and PWS-28. Volume 2: Koclhoven FK-58, D-501/D510, Martin 167 A3, Halifax I and V, Warwick, Auster, Oxford, Anson, USB, Szcze-2, R-5 and I-16; also aircraft of foreign units and captured aircraft. Volume 3: LiM-5M, LiM-6bis, Su-20, An-26, Jak-40, UTB-2, FM-13, ILot As, TS-16 Grot, Wilga 45, Mak 11, Mak 30 and Hal 30.

[Question] In addition to the three mentioned volumes, two smaller books appeared in the SKRZYDLATA POLSKA library.

[Answer] Yes. They are supplements to increase knowledge in some areas and are designed primarily for the readers of my three volumes on Polish military aircraft.

[Question] Do you expect to revise the three volumes, to correct and supplement them?

[Answer] The initiative lies with the editor. If the MON Publishing House believes that it would be advisable and useful to revise the three volumes then I will prepare a second, better edition.

[Question] What inspired you to write books about Polish military aircraft?

[Answer] I was guided by the desire to give evidence of and honor to those who built the airplanes. I would not want them to be forgotten and hidden in mystery. Simply stated, I decided to give these people the proper honor due them and to show them respect for what they did for Polish aviation.

Author's Biography

Andrzej Morgala became interested in aviation from early childhood. Together with colleagues, he built and flew flying models in the fields between Sosnowiec and Bedzin (1944). Poles were not allowed to do this by the Germans. He completed glider school in 1947 (category A and B, Sosnowiec), in 1948 (category C, Jezow) and training in Pinczow and Katowice. In 1950 he passed paratrooper training in Nowy Targ. That same year he started flying airplanes. In 1953 he completed studies in economics.

at Katowice. After obtaining a license, in the 1960s he completed 26 balloon flights as a pilot, including the longest of over 300 km. He wrote five books: "Polish Military Aircraft," published by the MON Publishing House: Volume 1 (1972), the period from 1918 to 1939; Volume 2 (1976), the period from 1939 to 1945; Volume 3 (1981), the period from 1945 to 1980; "Fighter Aircraft in the Polish Air Force" (1979) and "Bombers and Attack Aircraft in the Polish Air Force" (1981), both issued by the WKil [expansion unknown] of the SKRZYDLATA POLSKA Library.

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ACTIVITIES, PLANS OF ZBOWID (VETERANS' ASSOCIATION) REPORTED

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish No 31, 23 Oct 82 pp 7, 8

[Article by Stanislaw Kujda, secretary general, Veterans' Association [ZBOWID] Main Board]

[Text] By implementing the tasks contained in the ZBOWID statute, specifically in Section 59 which deals with electoral reporting meetings, our union this October enters a period of the electoral reporting campaign and begins it with meetings of circles, which will be followed next year by voivodship conferences of delegates in preparation for the national ZBOWID congress in 1984.

I would like to point out that the electoral reporting meetings of ZBOWID circles convene every 30 months, while the voivodship conferences of delegates, every 5 years.

Based on the above statutory requirements, the Presidium of the Main Board in its resolution of 8 April of this year announced the beginning of preparations for the electoral reporting meetings of circles in the fourth quarter of this year. Last June special directives were formulated which after being approved by the Presidium of the Main Board reached the ZBOWID voivodship committees. The directives outlined in detail the organization and course of electoral reporting meetings in the ZBOWID basic cells. Considering the complexity of the sociopolitical situation in the country, said document formulated the ideological-political and organizational tasks of the union in the planned campaign. These mainly require a comprehensive evaluation of the cells' activities supplemented by description of activities undertaken since the imposition of martial law. We assume that the electoral reporting campaign will be a good opportunity to raise the activity level of the veterans' ranks in such areas as the union's internal integration, welfare benefits, and organization on the local level. Furthermore, within the framework of the electoral reporting campaign we would like to continue introducing more order in the structure of basic cells by dividing--when necessary--the numerically big cells into smaller ones; this should make them more operational in general as well as improve identification of the needs of the veterans' ranks in individual cells.

In response to demands of some ZBOWID voivodship boards the Presidium of the Main Board in the resolution of 8 April acknowledged the need for introducing justified structural changes within the individual ZBOWID cells and recommended that the structural order be implemented before the beginning of the electoral reporting campaign in the cells.

As a result of activities undertaken in this area 19 voivodship boards submitted proposals for structural changes by 15 September. After reviewing the particulars, which assumed the need for perfecting the activity coordination of the ZBOWID local units and for strengthening the organizational ties with the membership at large, we decided to adopt the presented proposals. Thus, 9 new city boards (in Kielce, Legnica, Gniezno, Slupsk, Zielona Góra, Koszlin), 3 city district boards, 16 town-rural commune boards, and 3 rural commune boards have been created within the ZBOWID organization.

Similar approval was given to proposals envisaging a division of big cells and creation of 73 new ones, including 51 city cells, 13 rural commune cells, 2 town-rural commune cells, and 1 plant cell.

I wish to recommend that the plenary meeting of the Main Board approve these proposals.

Last August the BOWID Main Board Secretariat forwarded to voivodship boards the projected timetable for the electoral reporting campaign, which contains introductory recommendations to carry out the following activities: electoral reporting meetings in the basic units (cells) between October 1982 and March 1983; city district, city, and town-rural commune meetings between April and June 1983; conferences of voivodship delegates between October 1983 and March 1984; and the Congress of ZBOWID in May 1984.

At this time, in the fourth quarter of this year, the Main Board Secretariat will prepare the instructions and key for the elections of delegates to the voivodship conferences and upon approval of these will forward them to the voivodship boards. In this regard relevant materials will be submitted for approval to the Presidium of the Main Board in November this year.

Furthermore, in the fourth quarter of this year the Secretariat will undertake activities with regard to introductory preparations for the Congress, so that appropriate commissions entrusted with responsibilities in this area will have been established by the beginning of the coming year.

Thus, as it can be seen, an important part of the union's activity, starting this October, will focus on the electoral reporting campaign already in progress.

In order to make the campaign efficient and achieve a high level of discussion at the meetings our activities in this area ought to involve the central and local aktiv as well as full-time employees of the Main Board office and voivodship boards.

We assume that the Main Board's aktiv and full-time employees ought to be able to cover approximately 100 electoral reporting meetings in the cells and all city district and town-rural commune conferences.

In addition to the electoral reporting campaign in the union, the introductory work on the implementation of the May 1982 bill on special benefits for the veterans has reached an advanced stage. The ZBOWID Main Board closely

cooperates with the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs in the area of preparing jointly with other ministries executive orders necessary to implement the bill.

As we know, the bill provides for a number of benefits for the veterans. To avoid standing aside at the time when various ministries were involved in the preparation of executive orders, the Main Board Secretariat worked out preliminary proposals, approved by the Main Board, which constitute now the basis for talks with the ministries affected by the implementation of the bill.

As we know, the bill requires that the ministries and the main organs of the state administration issue directives defining the range, level, and detailed regulations on the use of benefits and rights, guaranteed by the bill, after consultations with the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs and the ZBOWID Main Board.

To this date proposals of the implementation directives have been submitted by the following ministries:

[1] Ministry of Price Affairs - reduced payments for the use of electricity, gas, heating, and heating water for home use by the veterans-retirees.

The 25-percent reduction in payments is too low in our opinion. Therefore, jointly with the Ministry of Veterans Affairs we have submitted our comments about this proposal and recommended reducing the payments to 50 percent.

Our consultation with this ministry have not been concluded yet.

[2] Ministry of Communications - reduced payments for telephone service subscriptions.

The Ministry's proposal guarantees to the eligible veterans a 50 percent reduction in payments for telephone service subscriptions and free of charge use of radio and TV sets in accordance with the bill. The reduced subscription payments will be handled by the local postal-telecommunications and telecommunications offices.

We have not submitted any comments on these proposals, because they agree with our position on the subject. However, we have suggested a new date of their implementation, 1 January 1983, so that the new payment rates for the veterans coincide with the effective date of the bill's implementation.

[3] Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection - reduced local transit fares.

The Ministry's proposal guaranteed reduced fares to the veterans only on the regular local transit bringing them in line with the transit fares for the retirees and pensioners.

We have suggested a reduction by 50 percent of fares on all remaining municipal transit lines such as express, night, and special events lines.

Our suggestions were included in the revised executive order of the minister which guarantees to the veterans reduced fares in accordance with our proposals.

[4] Ministry of Transportation - registration fees for automobiles.

The minister's executive order guarantees to the disabled veterans the same reduced fees as to other disabled persons. Since this directive conformed with our proposal, we have not submitted any comments.

[5] Ministry of Veterans' Affairs - in the process of preparing an executive order on the rates of retirement pensions and emergency pensions granted by the Ministry. Due to the recent changes in retirement benefits and pensions this matter is still being resolved.

We are confident that this matter will be resolved by the coming January.

[6] Among the important benefits granted to the veterans by the bill the veteran supplement still has to be formally settled. This problem is in general resolved by the bill, which states that the veterans, who are eligible to receive a pension or retirement benefits but who do not receive any supplements for state and military decorations, honorary title, or underground teaching during World War II, are eligible to receive a veteran supplement in the amount specified by the regulations on the universal retirement benefits for the possession of decorations or an honorary title. This supplement amounts to 25 percent at this time.

This matter will be ultimately resolved after the new bill on the retirement benefits, which specifies the amount of a supplement for decorations, goes into effect.

[7] The problem of health care.

We have not yet received an executive order proposal from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

In this area our Social Welfare and Health Commission has prepared a detailed proposal for a comprehensive solution of the problem of a hospital and sanatorium care as well as welfare services for the veterans which will be used in our talks with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Our talks with the Ministry will focus on the following:

(a) the area of health care:

(1) within the framework of the Voivodship Specialized Clinics to create a network of veterans clinics, which will provide specialized medical consultations, as well as rehabilitation and hospital services. Such clinics ought to be established in every voivodship;

(2) under the auspices of the Medical School Specialized Clinic at Banacha Street to establish in Warsaw the Main Veterans Clinic, which will coordinate and lead the entire veterans health care; to start the construction of the Main Clinic at Dickenska Street;

(3) to start the construction of the planned sanatoriums for the veterans during the coming 3-year economic plan;

(4) to prepare appropriate regulations, which would allow the veterans to use the health care centers of the Ministries of National Defense [MON] and Internal Affairs [MSW];

(5) attention has been given to the need for increasing the number of veterans sent to sanatoriums (in comparison with 1982);

(b) in the area of welfare there is a need for:

(1) intensification of construction of veterans homes; to aim at constructing at least one veterans home in every larger voivodship city;

(2) to secure priority allocations of motor vehicles to handicapped veterans in conjunction with increased financial assistance for purchasing such;

(3) to secure priority for the veterans in the admittance to senior citizens centers. According to our information the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare will soon submit to our Main Board a draft of the executive order to that effect.

(4) I wish to remind here that the veterans 75 years old and up already receive a nursing supplement, while veteran retirees and pensioners get 50 percent discount on train and bus fares. The bill gave these an official sanction only.

In summary: the main provisions of the bill concerning the benefits for the veterans are in the final stage of resolution. In the nearest future they will appear in the form of executive orders of appropriate ministers, other are in the process of being resolved. We hope that by the end of this year all of the participating ministries will issue appropriate executive orders. Our goal, guiding us in our talks with the ministries, is to make sure that the benefits granted by the bill are felt by the veterans and constitute a considerable material help and moral satisfaction to them.

We are also aware of the fact that the bill, while granting considerable benefits to the veterans, does not resolve all of the socioexistential problems of our membership, particularly in the area of care for the disabled, who require a special care and assistance. This problem ought to be given particular attention now in the period of coming fall and winter. I am talking about it because it should not happen that in the midst of our electoral reporting campaign in the cells the most vital needs of our members are forgotten. We also have in mind the need on the part of the cell boards to provide for maximal assistance to and care for those who are in particular need of such by using the opportunities in this respect offered by the Polish Social Assistance Committee [PKPS], Polish Red Cross [PCK], Polish Scout Union [ZHP], and schools as well as mutual aid program. This assistance will be necessary for the purchase of supplies for the winter season.

We would like these matters--which are our important obligations to the membership--to be discussed in the cell meetings.

FORMER SOLIDARITY LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON PAST PROBLEMS

National Commission Member

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 8-10 Oct 82 p 4

[Interview with Aleksandr Chrzanowski, Solidarity National Commission member by Ireneusz Czyzewski: "The Workers Will Be Able to Judge"]

[Text] Interview with Aleksandr Chrzanowski, a machinist at the Agricultural Machinery Combine AGROMET in Lublin, and a member of the National Commission [KK] of the suspended Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity.

[Question] Please describe your position in the union.

[Answer] I was one of the organizers of the new trade unions in the Lublin area. I was first active in the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ], and then in the Central-Eastern Regional Board. In October 1981 I was elected to the National Commission of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

[Question] Where were you when martial law was declared?

[Answer] At the train station in Gdansk. After a meeting of the National Commission, several of us sat there until quite early in the morning, because there was no train. No one stopped us or asked to see our papers. We found out in the train that martial law had been imposed. I returned to Lublin quietly, and my family told me that the militia police had been by. I went to bed, and on Monday I went to work. Part of the plant was striking, and so I tried to persuade people to break off the protest. It was not easy, but I finally succeeded. Then, basically together with the director, we reached the conclusion that I ought to report to the militia station. There I answered a couple of questions and signed a statement that I would not act against the Polish People's Republic. I signed it because I have never acted against Poland or had any intention of doing so. Since then no one has asked me about anything, and I have been working quietly at my position. I am a machinist in the tool shop.

[Question] I have heard that you are still active...

[Answer] You cannot call it that. The unions have been suspended, but many questions have remained. People know me and if they have some kind of problem they come to see me. Can I refuse them? I go to the director and talk to him. I do not have any difficulties as a result of this.

[Question] What were the mistakes of the trade unions that were active before August?

[Answer] It is not possible to enumerate everything that was associated with the trade union movement before September, but a great deal absolutely has to be, at least the obvious lack of autonomy, guidance from outside, controlled elections, and inability to act. It was not possible to make a breakthrough on any of the problems, however. Many good people were running from one wall to another because they could not settle anything. Others were too submissive, and did not have the courage to take risks. The fact is also that if someone did settle union affairs firmly, this was lost in one way or another. In any case, we cannot return to that. Today it is also worthwhile to ask whether the trade unions were the only ones responsible. I think not, because they were operating under specific conditions and did what the conditions allowed them to do.

[Question] You were one of those who first questioned this state of affairs by organizing new unions. You made it possible for things to be different. Did the beginning really offer such an assurance?

[Answer] Definitely. Nevertheless, the workers created a workers' union. People came to us with great hopes. We tried to fulfill their expectations. Dozens of forgotten problems that had previously been impossible to settle were resolved literally overnight. This was very dynamic work, carried out in a rather nervous atmosphere, and it is understandable that various disputes arose, and often very sharp discussions. We considered this a normal phenomenon, since it was confined within tolerable limits. As time went by, however, this situation began to change.

[Question] What were the symptoms of this change?

[Answer] There were more and more outsiders bustling around us. They did not have access to us, however. We effectively guarded against their participation in our unions, meetings, or gatherings. Then, when the union had already developed, there were more and more of them. They got out of control. We only learned that they were quietly organizing some kind of meetings. They began to bother the activists about whether they could get into the Committee for the Defense of the Workers [KOR], the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], or other groups. It was difficult to determine who was who. They got into the authorities by various means, even as a result of various manipulations. It nearly happened, however, that completely different people from outside our region, from some completely unknown list, got into the authorities at a meeting. We did not elect them in the primary elections. Was it possible to prevent this in all of the regions, however?

[Question] Still, couldn't the most informed people--you were one of them--ask specifically who these people were and why they came? We are not even citing such a concept as freedom of speech, since it is perhaps too high-sounding.

[Answer] In theory, this was possible, but in practice it was not. I repeat, it was very difficult to orient oneself in all of this. For example, I only learned what "National Commission" meant after working there for a certain period of time. The principle of preserving the unity of the union was also in force from the beginning. It is correct and necessary, but its use to limit criticism of individuals or activities should be recognized as impermissible. Unfortunately, something like this was really the case.

[Question] Did the National Commission work in a similar atmosphere?

[Answer] There was a group of people there who were not interested in union affairs. There was also another group, which consisted mainly of workers. We stayed together and consulted on various matters, and even sat together. When any of those who, let us say, thought realistically, took the floor, then Walesa said, "Listen, finally something concrete!" Even at the last meeting of the National Commission, when the well known resolutions were adopted, there was also no lack of prudent voices warning of the consequences. It is a pity that they were not shown on television. These voices were there, but there were too few of them. As we put it, the advantage was with the people who spoke in a picturesque style, and when it came to a vote, they triumphed.

[Question] Wasn't there any chance of eliminating that state of affairs?

[Answer] An awareness emerged that the union was not acting as it should. People learned more and more about various things that were happening behind the scenes, and activists at various levels unravelled it. It was difficult for the idea of irregularities to penetrate. Thus, there was some chance that they might be eliminated in January 1982, when a meeting for reports was supposed to take place in the region. It is difficult for me to say to what extent this was possible. It is a fact that genuine activists who did not agree with Solidarity's policies at that time were leaving the union. A classic example of this was the notorious Cwikla affair. When the authorities in the region were changed he was elected vice president, and he said, "I will not work with those people." This was a very brave step at that time. Cwikla, however, was accused of disrupting the unity of the union; he was reviled, and as a result of his article, the founder was expelled from the union. We tried to defend him, but we were too weak.

[Question] Today, after some time and after many difficult experiences is there an awareness that this was really the situation inside the union?

[Answer] The truth is penetrating with difficulty. People are feeling the results; what the union was able to settle is important. And this is the way it should be. In fairness, we have to acknowledge what Solidarity did for the workers. We cannot pass over the bad phenomena and mistakes, however. It is characteristic that someone who reached the heart of the union participated in various meetings outside of work and frequently rubbed his eyes from amazement.

I know of such cases, which are not rare at all. Those who did not see this did not believe it, however, and the truth is such that they still do not believe it. I have even met people who said that KOR actually did not mean any harm.

[Question] How frequent are these views, especially the last ones?

[Answer] It is difficult to say exactly, since I have not performed any research. I only know one thing. The political shouters did not find any support among the workers. Obviously, at every meeting there was someone who shouted, for example, that he did not like the party, or brought up some political matters. The work force, however, had a negative view of this. Furthermore, I was at dozens of different meetings at plants, among the workers, and it is on that basis that I can say this. The workers were able to judge what they needed. Political matters in Solidarity were not their business. It did not occur to the workers to overthrow the system. They want work and a fair salary ensuring an appropriate standard of living. They want to have someone to turn to whom they can count on to help them.

[Question] What comes next, then?

[Answer] The situation is difficult today. People are perplexed and are thus no longer confident of their professions. Trade unions are thus even more necessary at this time. Everyone sometimes has the need to say something or even complain. He does not have anyone to turn to. I think that in spite of martial law and the suspension of union activity, some sort of production conferences or meetings should take place in the teams. People could say there what bothers them; now they are just whispering to each other in the corners. Thus, a union is needed that the workers will accept and recognize as their own, since otherwise they will not join it. This is what people think, and I am passing it on faithfully. Any substitute for trade unions could only increase the apathy, and that is what we need least of all in the present situation.

[Question] Therefore, what should the unions be like?

[Answer] Obviously, concepts of this are certain to be different. I see that many people are attached to the name "Solidarity," and to its aggressiveness. I do not know what it will be like. In my opinion a proper structure should be created and the unions should "come out of" the plants. I think that everywhere where there have been three organizations in the work force, they will somehow come to an understanding and there will be one, although several matters will necessarily have to be guarded against.

Different people cannot join a union from school or from who knows what kind of organizations. The people there have to be primarily the representatives of the work force, authentic ones, because only such people can be controlled by the work force. Also, such a person is capable of a firm presentation of the things demanded by the work force. Union members need a sort of intellectual base. I am not rejecting the presence of educated people; they are necessary for clarifying and explaining various things, but not for directing or even manipulating the union.

In contrast to the structures existing before August, the trade union should be independent and self-governing, not burdened with bureaucracy and reports. The activists should return to their place of work. Only then will they try to fight for the causes of the workers, knowing that when they return they will be asked about what they have done. The union authorities also cannot be politically oriented.

[Question] What about conflicts?

[Answer] They can always appear. The union has to present the workers' causes forcefully, but it also has to know where the limit to its activity lies, and not cross it--in light of recent lessons, this does not lead to anything. It should simply look at the world realistically. At National Commission meetings, I heard such words as "general strike," and "an active strike." We wondered whether you really knew what an active strike was and how hard it is to carry it out--what it can lead to. After all, even when the well known referendum was outvoted, there were people who said loudly, "Stop." Unfortunately, matters had already gone too far and it ended the way it did. Now, if a good resolution on trade unions came out that ensured against certain things, then there would be a chance for a good union.

[Question] Won't there be adverse reactions to these statements?

[Answer] If you please, I have been a worker for 28 years. After August I fought for new unions when there were still few brave people. I devoted hundreds of hours to Solidarity. I subordinated my personal and family life to it. I am not afraid to speak because I am not presenting anything here that I have not seen. I am not repeating gossip. Even if someone does not like this, I still think that people have to learn the truth. We will not settle anything by overlooking unpopular matters, and at most, just as in the 1970's, we will calmly build a new conflict.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Jastrzebie Interfactory Committee Chairman

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 25, 10 Oct 82 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, former chairman of the Jastrzebie Interfactory Workers' Committee of NSZZ Solidarity, by Stanislaw Roszkowski: "The Absent Ones Are Wrong"]

[Text] [Question] I have heard awful things about you.

[Answer] And what are people saying about me?

[Question] One hears the words drunkard, degenerate, a careerist, who has gotten a villa and several automobiles for himself. You are charged with collaborating with the government. People talk about the party's messenger boy. In general, you are considered an extreme Red.

[Answer] Journalists ought to know quite well how people who are uncomfortable are dealt with. If you do not have any valid arguments, the attacks are based on libel; this means that it is hard to win against such a person. I still do not have the right to travel, and I go to work as most people do, by bus. I don't want to justify myself, however. These calumnies have assured me that I am an opponent to be reckoned with.

[Question] At first, however, there were no calumnies. You had genuine support in Silesia. Is it true that from the beginning you knew what to do?

[Answer] Perhaps I did not so much know, as hear. I phoned the secretary and director at the "Borynia" mine with a proposal for stepping up our activities. It was a warning call, at five to twelve. The party had to become involved in all of this, since otherwise someone else would barge in. Later on that is really what happened. Therefore, in Jastrzebie I tried to step up events, in contrast to those activists who saw August from behind the curtains in their offices. I was once asked how it happened that a member of the party with thirteen years of service became a strike leader. A representative of the workers was talking with an authority that was supposed to represent the interests of the working class. I answered that a member of the party should be among the people.

[Question] Didn't you thus hide behind your goals?

[Answer] Someone wrote that I went to the work force with the party's blessing-- I never concealed this. I am not a politician, but I still know how to take the facts into account. And the fact was that I was acting together with the people. I have spoken about this at meetings of various kinds, even at one of the meetings of the Interfactory Workers' Committee [MKR], where all of this was accepted without any reservations. In the beginning, over 50 percent of the authorities in the Jastrzebie Solidarity were party members. At that time, Jastrzebie was called Red Jastrzebie.

[Question] You have been accused of merely wanting to infiltrate the workers and calm down the hotheads.

[Answer] The strikes had to take place, at the lowest possible cost. Stopping work in a mine is not such a simple matter. This is coking coal that can be sold at a good price. Borynia cannot be closed up with a podlock, since this would threaten its ruin. In addition to this, as a [party] member and a citizen, I identified with the demands announced by the miners.

[Question] A proper authority is needed in order to organize a strike for the first time. Perhaps you read the famous KOR order?

[Answer] No, I didn't read it. You can imagine that this was very spontaneous, however. Really! People saw the coal trucks that came from the Coast toward the end of August with the signs, "Kill a Silesian and you will have a pig." This strike was to a great extent a solidarity strike, and an authentic one. The fact is that the Jastrzebie understanding turned out to be the most

impractical of all, but this demonstrates the fact that this authenticity was real. A bunch of experts did not work on it. Besides, I have to admit that I always drove away all kinds of advisors; I knew what that could lead to. The only chance this union had to exist was as a genuine one. Otherwise it had to lose. And it did lose, since it had lost its authenticity.

[Question] But you lost much, much earlier. You began to be vilified. Which of the accusations was most unpleasant?

[Answer] I was made to appear an enemy of the union. Of the union--I am stressing this! Can anyone show me a document proving that I sold out any of the workers' causes?

[Question] Mr Sienkiewicz, in preparing for this interview, I looked through various kinds of Solidarity publications. In one of them I read that once, at a meeting of the heads of the Interfactory Founding Committees [MKZ] operating in the Silesian area, which was to result in the appearance of a single strong region, you stated that you were leaving, because you had come to an agreement with the secretary of the party. Couldn't the union members have felt themselves to be affected by this?

[Answer] If you please--you are simplifying matters a great deal by putting the unions and the party in opposite ends of the ring. Who told you that the party does not want strong unions?

[Question] Nevertheless, such accusations have been raised.

[Answer] I remember how at those meetings--and there were a lot of them--controversies occurred over the future of Solidarity. We were unable to agree on anything for many hours. I stated that if the leaders could not reach an agreement we should resign from our posts.

[Question] But from the point of view of politics, walking out like that was not the wisest move.

[Answer] Since when have I been a politician?

[Question] Then why did you push yourself forward as the chairman?

[Answer] I am too weak in politics. I win when I have the support of the workers at my back. But as an aside, I never pushed myself forward as the chairman at all. I was simply elected.

[Question] But what finally happened with that walkout? Are you going to answer my question or not?

[Answer] All right. The representatives of several mines were invited to a meeting in Zabinski. At the meeting, we were supposed to discuss matters that were extremely important to the union and the workers--the question of wages. New strikes were threatened if this problem were not solved. At the meetings

with the chairmen of the Interfactory Founding Committees I simply heard nonsense. The first problem that was discussed there was whether we ought to talk to the party or not. So where was I supposed to go--here or there? Which would you have picked?

[Question] What do you think--why was that attitude held against you? Why did you begin to lose out? First came your resignation from the office of chairman, and then your withdrawal from Solidarity and simultaneously the famous open letter.

[Answer] The "KORniks" began to gnaw away at Silesia.

[Question] The "KORniks?"

[Answer] Right. That isn't my name; it was invented by people from the Walbrzye Solidarity. KORniks, that is, people from KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers], since wherever they appeared they stubbornly gnawed away at everything--until it began to fall apart. KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] slowly, but even so very systematically, took over the Solidarity structures. I knew that when they took control of the union everything would collapse, and it did. My concept was based on authenticity of action, as it was at the beginning. In addition to this, as you know, there were dollars, leather jackets, and modern printing machines. People could be bought with these. And then enormous difficulties in supply were already being observed. Please realize that throughout the entire period of my management Jastrzebie did not get a cent or a pfennig from the West, as this demonstrates.

I also didn't meet with any understanding from the government apparatus at that time. I was left by myself. At any given moment I was leaning against a glass door that could break into a thousand pieces at any time. At that time the economic difficulties had begun for good, literally everything was in short supply in the shops, inflation was running wild, and the old authorities had collapsed. The government was blamed for all of this. After people had begun to be selected, I was left by myself, but I persisted even more. I not only knew what was wrong with the country, but spoke about it aloud...

Two weeks after it was signed I had an opportunity to talk to Grudzien, who was at that time the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee [KW], I already knew then that this person did not know much about what was going on in the country.

[Question] Did you tell him about it?

[Answer] I told him. I also proposed that he record the next party meeting in the mine on tape, listen to it at his leisure, and then read the protocol from that meeting and draw his own conclusions.

[Question] You are again bringing the matter back to individual people and leather jackets.

[Answer] A few months after August, some people had already forgotten what had created the protest, since the way it happened, some people were motivated by expediency, and others did it for a purpose, with consideration. Someone said that a time when people had forgotten the reason for August would be the beginning of the next turning point, from which we would no longer be able to rescue the country.

[Question] I think that not only the party membership ranks, but also the leaders, realize this.

[Answer] There is something arresting in the fact that after any resolution is adopted, by any assembly, everything seems to be correct. The difficulty has always been consistency in carrying out what has been resolved. I think that what Jaruzelski is doing has a chance of success, since consistency can be seen in it.

[Question] You have to admit, however, that the process of emerging from the crisis is taking place very slowly. Many people are beginning to be doubtful about the future. We should not conceal this.

[Answer] Unfortunately, some people cannot understand that new times have come. If someone has had the schedule for his entire day set for years: at a certain time he drinks tea, then he writes a report, then at four he has a meeting, this is no longer a habit, but a way of thought.

[Question] Do you believe that we will get clear soon?

[Answer] At a meeting of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in Warsaw, someone said that when a ship is at sea one captain has to lead, since otherwise the ship will sink. I believe in the present administration. I am worrying about something else: we have a bad tradition of putting the entire blame on individuals; one team is selected that governs for a certain period of time, and then it is wiped off the face of the earth. It is not true that only individuals are guilty.

[Question] I am afraid that a lot of people have cautiously acquired the ideas of socialism. They think that someone has to solve everything for them, and they heap guilt on everyone around them, only not on themselves.

[Answer] It is after all a question of changing convictions. I see my role as bringing about this change.

(During our interview, which lasted for several hours, an unsigned letter was delivered, together with the daily mail, addressed to "PZPR Comrade Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, the Borynia hard coal mine." The anonymous letter began with the words, "I learned from today's TRYBUNA Robotnicza that you participated in a meeting of the commission that initiated the creation of the PRON National Provisional Council. I have several questions in connection with this..." The anonymous letter concluded with the words, "Please answer these questions in the columns of the newspapers.")

[Question] If you don't mind, let's satisfy the request from the author of the letter, especially since the questions are related to our interview. Let us begin with the last one. "Why do you think that trust in the government can be achieved by filling the shelves in the stores, but you do not say anything about prices? As a good person, in December 1980 you wanted to revive the understanding, but who stopped you? Now it has turned out that you are a fox in disguise, that you were a plant, and that you want to make your career as a cad. But you are putting on the cloak of a martyr for the freedom of the workers."

[Answer] Nothing new, but I will answer it. After all, prices and store shelves are inseparably linked to each other. There is also production, which has to be increased. But maybe this person does not want full shelves; maybe he thinks that the worse it is, the better it will be. I am not a martyr, since I am the only one who has gotten fed up, among other things by such anonymous letters. The rest of the questions have already been brought up in our conversation. Let's go on.

[Question] The second question is, "The other day you appeared on TV. Why do you speak on behalf of the members of Solidarity if you do not have that right, since Solidarity has been suspended?"

[Answer] I have spoken and I am speaking about Solidarity as a citizen of this country. I assume I have a right to my own view? Maybe the author of this anonymous letter understands pluralism differently.

[Question] "Who delegated you to this meeting (of PRON--ed.)? Whom did you represent at it? How did it happen that you were sent there?"

[Answer] The party made the proposal, and I tried to represent it. Besides, as the name itself indicates, this is a provisional commission. In connection with this, no elections have taken place yet.

[Question] Do you think that PRON has broad public support?

[Answer] Good will, every initiative, and the desire to act have to be taken into account. It is enough that a few people who want to do something are getting together. I think that people with different convictions and world outlooks will be meeting within the framework of PRON's activities; not all convictions, however, but the absent ones are wrong.

Some people were a step away from the government and felt the taste of it; the word "understanding" would not get past their throats. They are a minority, but unfortunately it has turned out that they have found a great deal of public support.

[Question] Do you thus have a future ahead of you?

[Answer] You are saying this ironically. The fact is that at a certain time my support among the workers was taken away. Recently someone said that the KORites were mortally afraid of me, since they knew that I was a powerful opponent. The most difficult thing is for a person to deal with his opinion of himself, but I have such an opinion. But by the way, I am curious; why did you want to interview me?

[Question] Perhaps I wanted to get a ride in one of your automobiles? The task of a journalist is to present different points of view; and besides, I can see that you were right on a lot of things.

[Answer] If concepts like the ones I presented had won, today we would have a strong party and very strong trade unions; but look at them today. With every day, this will be more and more apparent.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/45

SLOVENIAN NAMED DIRECTOR OF 'BORBA'

[Editorial Report] The 28 October 1982 issue of BORBA (Belgrade) announced on the front page that the presidium of the Federal Conference of SAWPY had named Bozidar Kovac the new director of the "Borba" NIGRO (News, Publishing, Printing Work Organization). It noted that Kovac, who will take up his new duties on 15 November, was born in 1935 in Podkum, Zagorje, had been director of Ljubljana television since 1979, and a member of the LC since 1963; he had earlier been a journalist and editor for DELO, and had held various SAWP posts in Slovenia.

On 29 October BORBA published (page 4) the following (excerpted) statement from the presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference of Croatia, protesting that Croatia's candidate, Sime Kronja, had not been named to the "Borba" post:

"The presidium of the Croatian Republic Conference of SAWP nominated Comrade Sime Kronja as director of NIGRO "Borba," proceeding from the conviction that Comrade Kronja fully meets all the conditions for this function in his work abilities, experience, and moral-political qualities. After this proposal [i.e., nomination] was submitted to the Federal SAWPY Conference, he was fully supported in several republic and provincial conferences. But the nomination was linked, clearly without basis, to various interpretations of Kronja discussions in the Federal Conference of SAWPY in April of this year. During the proceedings the public was informed about the candidacy in an unusual way--a way which does not serve as an example for our social relations. In the political organs of the Federation and of the Croatian LC the attempts to disqualify Comrade Kronja were rejected and the interpretations of the Kronja discussion at the meeting of the SAWP Federal Conference section for information were considered an unacceptable method in handling free democratic dialogue in the SAWP based on the principled positions of the LC. Despite this, and because of the long wait for agreement and the need to solve the key cadre question in "Borba," the presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference of Croatia withdrew its nomination, making it possible for other solutions to be made."

CSO: 2800/45

MACEDONIAN SURVEY POINTS TO PARTY WEAKNESSES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 82 p 5

[Excerpts] Special attention has been drawn to the answers regarding the moral image of communists given by 1,200 persons surveyed [recently] in Macedonia by the Institute for Sociological and Political-Legal Questions in Skopje. Persons from all social strata, of all ages and educational levels, were asked: "What qualities should LC members in this area have in the present struggle to achieve socio-economic stabilization?" and "How many LC members whom you know have these characteristics?"

Djoko Spasov, one of those supervising the researching of public opinion in Macedonia, said that these questions had been asked in surveys for several years. One wants to [find out] to what extent the LC, in the opinion of working people and citizens, remains avant-garde, i.e., the motive force in changing socioeconomic relations and overcoming the increased difficulties which have appeared at this stage in our socioeconomic development.

Spasov said that, if one proceeds from the conclusions of the 21st meeting of the LCY CC last September, or from the Congress views, it is noticeable that "many LC organizations and leaderships continue to be burdened by the practice of repeating the same conclusions, by issuing general appeals, by passivity, by reconciling themselves with the status-quo, and by negative tendencies which have resulted in certain areas in a loss of confidence in the LC."

Judging from the answers received to the questions [asked in the survey], one-third who were LC members and one-fourth who were not said [only] a small number of LC members whom they know meet the characteristics expected from a communist, i.e., that a small number of communists can serve as an example in the struggle for economic stabilization.

The problem is even sharper if one bears in mind that such judgments have essentially not changed for the last several years. Surveys have also showed that a good number of working people and citizens think that many in the LC "join in order to make it easier for them to achieve their personal ambitions, goals, and interests."

Studies show that there are more and more "theories" according to which current requirements do not apply to LC members, that they differ from other citizens, or that it is normal that they change their character, relation, method of living (under the influence of a consumer psychology) from what it was in a "revolutionary period."

Deeper analysis of the opinions of the one-third who were LC members and who said ["only] a small number of the members of their basic LC organization possess the qualities needed by a communist," shows that they are the product of [reflect] a certain powerlessness, revolt, and the attempt to justify their own consistency and violation of statutory norms by noting the "poor qualities of the majority."

CSO: 2800/47

BRIEFS

AUTHOR SENTENCED FOR 'LIES'--The 30 October 1982 issue of VJESNIK (Zagreb, page 4) reported that the Pregrada opstina court sentenced Mijo Golub (82 years old) and parish priest Zeljko Slonjsak to 3 years each for spreading false reports according to Article 197 of the Croatian criminal code. Golub is charged with writing a collection of stories "Vinagorsko Raslinje," one of which "is offensive to the national hero Josip Janko Jutrisa from Vinagora, his family, and the entire Vinagora area. In addition, it interprets in an inadmissible way the action of the people of this area and all of Croatia in the National Liberation War. Golub says that these poor peace-loving people [of this area] were simply tormented and their lives disrupted by armed groups of ustashe and partisans who terrorized them each in their own way. Such writing, the chief prosecutor said, blackened not only the concept of the revolution and the liberation war, but also the role of the Croatian people in these historical events." Golub, the report said, acted as his own defense lawyer, saying that he himself had participated in the National Liberation War and won two medals for bravery and one for service to the people. Slonjsak was charged with editing, publishing, and distributing the book. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2800/45

END